

## Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 091611

FOLLOWING REPEAT BANGKOK 7092 ACTION STATE, INFO NEW DELHI,  
ABUI DHABI, ADDIS ABABA, CANBERRA, COLOMBO, DACCA, DAR ES SALAAM,  
ISLAMABAD, JAKARTA, MOGADISCIO, MOSCOW, NAIROBI, PARIS,  
PORT LOUIS, PRETORIA, RANGOON, SANAA, SINGAPORE, TANANARIVE,  
TEHRAN, TOKYO, WELLINGTON, PEKING, BRUSSELS, GENEVA,  
USUN NEW YORK, BOMBAY, CALCUTTA, HONG KONG, MADRAS, CINCPAC  
01 MAY 1974. QUOTE:

S E C R E T BANGKOK 7092

FROM AMBASSADOR KINTNER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, PARM, IN, US, XO

SUBJ: U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE INDIAN OCEAN

REF: A. NEW DELHI 5616

B. BANGKOK 5249

C. BANGKOK 5132

D. BANGKOK 5989

SUMMARY: THAILAND IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT  
U.S. ACTIONS AND POLICY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND THIS MESSAGE  
IS AN ENDORSEMENT OF AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN'S RECOMMENDATION FOR  
AN AUTHORITATIVE AND POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE STATEMENT FOR  
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PUBLIC USE ON THIS SUBJECT. THOUGHTS ARE ALSO OFFERED ON

POLITICAL INITIATIVES PROMOTING OUR INTERESTS IN THIS AREA.  
END SUMMARY

1. IN THAILAND THE INTERESTS AND ACTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE INDIAN OCEAN ARE BECOMING A MATTER OF INCREASING CONCERN AND PUBLIC DISCUSSION. THE SUBJECT HAS THE POSSIBILITY OF BECOMING AN IMPORTANT ISSUE IN THAI-U.S. RELATIONS. WE, THEREFORE, SUPPORT FULLY AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN'S RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A BETTER DEFINITION OF U.S. INTERESTS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AUTHORITATIVE, PERSUASIVE AND POLITICALLY PALATABLE STATEMENT FOR PUBLIC USE ON THIS MATTER. (REFTEL A). IN THE PRESENT MESSAGE WE HIGHLIGHT THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS SUBJECT TO THAI-U.S. RELATIONS AND ALSO OFFER SOME THOUGHTS ON POLITICAL INITIATIVES THAT MIGHT PROMOTE OUR INTERESTS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN AREA.

2. PRESS REPORTS THE LAST FEW WEEKS, INCLUDING STATEMENTS BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REVEAL ACCUTE SENSITIVITY TOWARD AND AWAREMENESS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN NAVAL BUILDUP AND OUR EXPANSION OF THE DIEGO GARCIA NAVAL BASE. THE RTG'S CONCERN DERIVES PRIMARILY FROM ITS POSITION AS A LITTORAL STATE OF THE INDIAN OCEAN. ADDITIONALLY, ELEMENTS OF THE RTG, PARTICULARLY THE SUPREME COMMAND, HAVE PERMITTED USE OF THE UTAPAO-SATTAHIP BASE COMPLEX FOR LIMITED SUPPORT OF OUR ACTIONS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN. THIS INCLUDES LOGISTICAL SUPPORT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF DIEGO GARCIA AS WELL AS SOME PATROL SURVEILLANCE FLIGHTS. WHEN THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS LEARNS OF THIS OR IT BECOMES PUBLIC, WE WILL HAVE SERIOUS PROBLEMS.

3. THE INDIAN OCEAN ISSUE BECAME PUBLICLY PROMINENT WHEN THE PRESS ERRONEOUSLY REPORTED THAT B-52 AIRCRAFT FROM THAILAND MIGHT FLY RECONNAISSANCE OVER THE INDIAN OCEAN. IN REFUTING THESE STORIES, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS STATED THAT U.S. FORCES STATIONED IN OYLYDDDFDU CONCERNED WITH INDOCHINA ONLY (REFTEL B, C AND D). WE ARE CONCERNED LEST THIS ATTITUDE AFFECT OUR USE OF UTAPAO TO SUPPORT ACTIVITIES IN DIEGO GARCIA. PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF OUR SUPPORT  
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FOR INDIAN OCEAN ACTIVITIES FROM THAILAND MIGHT ADVERSELY AFFECT THE ACCEPTABILITY OF OUR FORCES HERE AS A DETERRANT TO THE NORTH VIETNAMESE AND IN THE PRESENT CLIMATE HERE PROBABLY PRODUCE AN OFFICIAL RTG REQUEST THAT WE CEASE AND DESIST.

4. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN WORKING HARD AND WITH SOME SUCCESS IN GETTING ACROSS THEIR POINT OF VIEW ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND WERE ABLE TO HAVE PUBLISHED IN THAILAND IN ITS

ENTIRETY A STATEMENT ON THE INDIAN OCEAN. THE THUS FAR  
SOMEWHAT INADEQUATE STATEMENTS MADE BY THE U.S. ON THE  
MATTER HAVE RECEIVED SOME CRITICAL COMMENTS IN THE THAI  
PRESS. FOR INSTANCE, THE NATION EDITORIALIZED ON APRIL 29  
THAT "SOMEHOW SEYMOUR WEISS, DIRECTOR OF THE U.S. STATE  
DEPARTMENT'S BUREAU OF POLITICAL-MILITARY ACTIVITIES, HAS  
MANAGED TO TELL A GULLIBLE CONGRESS COMMITTEE THAT THE  
UNITED STATES HAS MORE SAY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN THAN THE  
LITTORAL COUNTRIES.....THE RIGHT TO SAIL IN HIGH SEAS  
IS A MATTER OF PREFERENCE EITHER OF BIG POWERS OR  
OF SMALL POWERS BUT TO PROMOTE NAVAL CONFRONTATION IN  
THE INDIAN OCEAN, IS DEFINITELY A MTTER FOR LITTORAL  
COUNTRIES." SUCH STATEMENTS AS THIS WELL INDICATE THE  
NEED FOR THE TYPE OF AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT ON THE  
INDIAN OCEAN WHICH AMBASSADOR NOYNIHAN PERSUASIVELY REQUESTS.

5. TURNING NOW TO COMMENTS ON POLITICAL INITIATIVES THAT  
MIGHT PROMOTE OUR SECURITY INTERESTS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN  
AREA, I ENDORSE THE GIST OF PARAGRAPH 13 OF AMBASSADOR  
MOYNIHAN'S CABLE. THERE WOULD BE NO HARM IN ASSOCIATING  
OURSELVES WITH THE BRESHNEV-GANDHI JOINT DECLARATION.  
THIS WOULD BE SIMILAR TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S RESPONSE  
TO KHRUSHCHEV'S 1961 CALL FOR COMPLETE AND GENERAL DIS-  
ARMAMENT WITH A SIMILAR PRONOUNCEMENT, EVEN THOUGH NO ONE  
IN ANY RESPONSIBLE POSITION TRULY BELIEVED IN THE IMMINENCE  
OF THIS POSSIBILITY. WITH DEDICATION TO THE ESSENCE OF  
THE BRESHNEV-GANDHI DECLARATION WE COULD MOVE INTO A MANY-  
TIERED SET OF DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS WHILE CONTINUING TO  
DEVELOP DIEGO GARCIA. AFTER ALL, SOVIET NAVAL DEPLOYMENTS  
IN THE INDIAN OCEAN HAVE NOT BEEN HAMPERED BY THE DE-  
CLARATION.

6. I DO FIND THE LIST OF PARTICIPANTS FOR THE INDIAN OCEAN  
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ZONE OF PEACE DISCUSSIONS INTRIGUING AND PARTICULARLY THE  
SUG  
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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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